769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

> In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

## GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie (the chief, Tipwatswat) that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet:ts, a great talker.

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatwːl). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai ˊna·na·ni naˊna·niˊ," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto ˊtwi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi ˊˈthːˊtwi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [413] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Coˈopo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] 825 On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (tːpni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

yaˊ aˑ yaˊ eˑ hai ˊya kawai ˊyo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 48b] Paleuyam:

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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668

M.A. was a little girl, still living at Tule, when a Chonotachi (Chunut) came to tell them about the big dance, that they all must go to Eshom Valley; for if they did not, they would "turn to ashes, a coyote, or something." M.A.'s uncle was very reluctant, but went because he was afraid. M.A. knows she must have gone to Eshom Valley but remembers little about it save that the dead people were supposed to come back. She thinks that two dances were held in Eshom Valley, one at Tule, one at Kolpopo afterwards, but probably none at Tejon.

[P. 49 b] Koyeti

276 was done on three successive days [sic]. It was taken "for long life and to see everything," and the experience might be repeated as often as a person wished. D.F. had never taken jimsonweed.

796 The Ghost Dance (soto´twi ha´t:m) was
668 first seen in Koyeti territory on Deer Creek. D.F. does not know who introduced it "unless it was Wačila´la," a Gawia. How far the dance spread beyond Fort Tejon, D.F. has no idea. They came up from Fort Tejon to see it. Some people made it there when they went back.

[P. 54b] Tubatulabal NS22

T
Y
756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

## GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T
Y
796
668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino'lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men,
T
Y
[302] two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only
769 at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and
535 Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon toward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´t:s was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´ḍṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had seen Ma´mul, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana n̄:t. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dow:š) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the
[184] ritual was called ka´m:ts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

## GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
● 668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
796 attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[284] "He went
[text continues on p. 133]

[284] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 133a] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs
668 and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?]
796 was making there. He [Moman] was painted red."
In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers
would go north to learn the new songs from
Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came
south, which he did once or twice later on. The
group of singers came back and held the first
dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in
Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went
"to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the
old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon.
They held no dances on the return trip. In
several subsequent years they retraveled this
route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore:
"singers from there came to dances in the foot-
hills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this
group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui,
and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and
A´paw:č, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname)
(all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did
the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs
were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them
(then).

668 The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago:
796 J.B. did not know why. There was never any
revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did
not believe the dance was a preventative of
sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the
southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living
at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a
little fellow and went with his father and
mother and boy cousin." He had three older
brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that
by no means did everyone go to the dance
"though most did because they were afraid not
to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text continued on Top of P. 133b,
--- Analyst]

## CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably
brief and not always clear. The available in-
formants at Squaw Valley were inadequately
equipped in personality and language to discuss
or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory.
They were not able to distinguish clearly be-
tween events at Maštinao and those occurring at
neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages.
Neither could they get down to cases. For ex-
ample, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's
totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her
husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M.,
A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given
for the sake of complete record: only the
moiety data can be used safely as it was re-
checked several times for mutual agreement.

### LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text continued in middle of P. 133b,
---- Analyst]

[P. 133b] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

668 The dance was called soto·´tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
535 women, usually alternating, and holding hands, moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went
[269] to swim. During the day people rested, slept, or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

## CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a—Aug 47]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

131 The following Chukaimina and Michahai
361 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən) was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to; P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

Ghosts frequently caused sickness called hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wəs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwəs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

EP 152 b] Choinimni

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance re-
796 galia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema).
535 Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.---This rite (le'a'la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl·'l·n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three [224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl·l·n most frequently gave this ceremony; Pušl·l·n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl·l·n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.---No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

## GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
796 Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao) and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance.
[302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

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[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, e.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29


769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe'biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya'hixo) was
769 performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[539] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'·č) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

Washing ritual.--This duty (·pla'oša) was
769 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were
769 lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

## GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
669 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su'yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo''oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

[75]Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Poagisa were gi''i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76]Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 1759] Kechayi Chuckchansi

carried a long painted cane so people would recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu'kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo'kon) on top of

[Text Continues TOP of P. 1756, --- Analyst]

## CHUCKCHANSI

### TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79] Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house
kat'an°u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinac: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 1756]

[647]

[77] Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78] K.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79] Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi.

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
● 668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[798] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

## CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaăi: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
131 Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186] their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
222 three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

[P. 203 b] Chalchihuitl

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume [302] was still in use. However, in the morning after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Slokmič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

## SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

### Sickness

754
776 Several anecdotes of illness were told by N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[439] [142]Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.252.] Western Mono

within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

## GHOST DANCE OF 1870

The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

W Y 796 668 "We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. W Y [775] He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa ʻošao paʻʻa nːm (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (iʻnːl). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [783] Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he ʻbarːn, he ʻbaya, he ʻnani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535] Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302 83] Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517] During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS26
EP. 253.9 Western Mono NS25
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After this dance the singers went on down to the reservation at Tule where the people in the south end of the valley assembled for a dance. S.O. thought that the singers did not visit the Tachi, Wowol, etc., of the lake region, but that these tribes learned the songs and doctrine by attending the foothill dances.[202] On their return the singers stopped at Kičeyu (Dunlap) and a small dance was held. At some time one was held at Carpenter's Flat. The songs were taught to persons from neighboring villages and small local dances were held every month or so. These were attended by visitors from other villages or tribes just as were older established ceremonies. S.O. thought the Ghost dances continued with less and less frequency and enthusiasm over a period of about two years. Finally the various chiefs felt that the efforts were not only futile but injurious to their people. Takaš, for one, called his people together at Kičeyu and spoke to them, pointing out that, in spite of their dancing, people were still getting sick and dying, that their hunting and household duties were neglected, and that the disorganized life and exertions were injuring their health. And he concluded by saying, "If that man's coming, he'll come anyway."

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[202] Actually some singers did go to Telweyit, a Tachi village, according to Wobonuch information.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P 253b] Western Mono NS 25
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C68

B.O.'s account of the Ghost Dance (ni´gat da´man) was singularly brief and corrupted even for his usual tacit manner.[203]

He said the first [sic] big dance was held at the south end of Eshom Valley, Waksachi territory, although the site had no special name. It was instigated by Wobonuch or horo´gidi [?] singers who "sent word all over the foothills and to the lake for people to come." They went on foot to the Tule River Reservation and southern end of the valley, but did not hold any dances en route.

At the resulting assemblage in Eshom Valley there were four or five hundred people, about equally mixed Yokuts and Western Mono. There were about twelve singers. These men were not paid, nor did they use any instrumental accompaniment. B.O. disclaimed knowledge of any purpose for the dance, i.e., any doctrine, and said it was done "just to be doing it."

The singers sat between two great fires. Around them men and women circled in single file. [Direction not recalled by informant.] All had their faces painted with red and white vertical or horizontal stripes or rows of dots. The dancing was kept up throughout each night until the participants were exhausted. The affair lasted about one week.

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[302]

[pp. 254-290 not processed]

[203] It is noteworthy that this informant omitted all references to its true purpose, as well as to the dramatic break-up described by others.